1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[9] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked deference to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had married into the same household. Particularly significant in this regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term *mudome*, the literal meaning of which is "feces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[10]

[9] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Mounbosh (1930, p. 140) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[10] Cf. Augusta, 1916, 1: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9–11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the Indians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kerosene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially pernicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made available to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Mapuche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

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583 [584] however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 594 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the [422] [431] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she [587] [613] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice [589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 582 768 [198] In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 582 [613] Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 582 [167] There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided